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Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-09 IO-10 USIE-00 ISO-00 EB-07 CU-02 STR-01

AEC-05 OMB-01 OES-03 NIC-01 CIAE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-07

L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

ACDA-05 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 /096 W
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O R 011125Z FEB 75
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 355
INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 237
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY RABAT
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY TUNIS
USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR
USDOCOSOUTH
USLO SACLANT NORFOLK VA
CINCLANT
USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 0607

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, PARM, EGEN, SGEN, XG
SUBJECT: CSCE: STATE II HIGHLIGHTS - JANUARY 27-31

1. SUMMARY : PRESSURES FOR CONFERENCE PROGRESS BUILD UP THIS WEEK AS THE SOVIETS MAINTAINED THEIR INFLEXIBLE STANCE ON CBMS AND BASKET III, WHILE CONTINUING TO URGE WESTERN AND NEUTRALDELEGATIONS TO ABANDON THEIR MORE AMBITIOUS PROPOSALS. THE ONLY CONCRETE ADVANCES WERE CONFIDENTIAL

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MADE IN BASKET II, WHERE A FEW OF THE REMAINING ISSUES

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WERE RESOLVED. ELSEWHERE,NO TEXTS WERE REGISTERED AND THERE WAS NO INDICATION THAT THE SOVIETS WERE READY TO MAKE THE CONCESSIONS REQUIRED TO ACCELERATE STAGE II NEGOTIATIONS AS THEY SAY THEY WANT TO DO. THEY MAINTAINED THEIR INSISTENCE THAT THE FRENCH AND RUSSIAN LANGUAGE VERSIONS OF THE HUMAN CONTACTS INTRODUCTION, WHICH ARE MANIFESTLY DIFFERENT, ARE IDENTICAL, AND REFUSED ANY AMENDMENTS TO THE RUSSIAN VERSION. MEANWHILE, THE EC-NINE TOOK INTERNAL DECISION THAT OUTLINE OF COMPROMISES ON CBMS SHOULD BE CLEAR BEFORE END OF FIRST READING OF PRINCIPLES DECLARATION, AND IN A FRANK STATEMENT OBVIOUSLY AIMED AT SOVIETS, YUGOSLAVS WARNED THAT STAGE III MIGHT BE DELAYED BEYOND THE SUMMER IF THERE IS NO PROGRESS SOON TOWARD REASONABLE COMPROMISES ON CBMS. END SUMMARY.

2. PRINCIPLES AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION -- LAST WEEK'S HIGHLY TENTATIVE AGREEMENT ON FIRST TWO SENTENCES OF PRINCIPLE OF COOPERATION AMONG STATES NOW APPEARS ENDANGERED BECAUSE OD DUTCH, ITALIAN AND FRG RELUCTANCE TO ACCEPT IT. DRAFTING OF THIRD SENTENCE ON LEVELS OF COOPERATION IS NETHERTHELESS PROCEEDING SLOWLY. WORK IN SPECIAL WORKING BODY ON IMPLEMENTATION WAS HELD UP PENDING RESOLUTION OF SOVIET-ROMANIAN DIFFERENCES ON PARA 3 OF ROMANIAN NON-USE OF FORCE PROPOSAL.

3. MILITARY SECURITY -- WHILE SOVIETS MAINTAINED HARD LINE AGAINST FURTHER CONCESSIONS ON PARAMETERS FOR NOTIFICATION OF MANEUVERS, YUGOSLAVS IN MILITARY SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE WARNED THAT STAGE III OF CONFERENCE MIGHT BE DELAYED BEYOND THIS SUMMER IF MOVEMENT TOWARDS ESSENTIAL COMPROMISES ON CBMS DOES NOT BEGIN SOON. SUBCOMMITTEE DISCUSSIONS DURING WEEK FOCUSED ON TIMING, MANNER, AND "CHANNEL" OF NOTIFICATION. DISCUSSION OF TIMING REVEALED NO CHANGE IN POSITIONS, BUT POLISH REPRESENTATIVE FOR FIRST TIME PROPOSED THAT NOTIFICATION OF CERTAIN MANEUVERS MIGHT BE MADE PUBLICLY, RATHER THAN THROUDH DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS. WHEN QUESTIONED BY NORWEGIAN REP, POLISH REP SUGGESTED THAT PUBLIC NOTIFI-
:-TION SHOULD BE RESERVED FOR MULTINATIONAL MANEUVERS,
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AND REITERATED EASTERN POSITION THAT OBLIGATION TO NOTIFY PURELY NATIONAL MANEUVERS NEED BE GIVEN ONLY TO NEIGHBORING STATES, THROUGH DIPLMATIC CHANNELS. IN INITIAL REACTIONS, ALLIED REPS MAINTAINED VIEW THAT NOTIFICATION OF ALL MANEUVERS SHOULDBE GIVEN DIPLOMATICALLY TO ALL CSCE PARTICIPANTS. SUBCOMMITTEE WILL RETURN TO CONTENT OF NOTIFICATION NEXT WEEK.

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4. ECONOMICS, SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY -- FULL COMMITTEE WAS
ABLE TO DISPOSE OF ONE OUTSTANDING ITEM ON ITS AGENDA--
BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL AGREEMENTS -- WHEN ALL AGREED
ISSUE HAD BEEN COVERED BY SUBCOMMITTEE ON COMMERCIAL
EXCHANGES. PROBLEM OF HOW TO DEAL WITH QUESTION OF
DEVELOPING COUNTRIES BECAME FURTHER COM-
PLICATED, HOWEVER, WHEN PORTUGAL INFORMED NATO CAUCUS
THAT IT HAD RECEIVED FIRM INSTRUCTIONS TO PRESS FOR A
REFERENCE TO "DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IN EUROPE" AND NOT
TO SETTLE FOR THE TURKISH COMPROMISE PHRASE "LESSDEVELOPED COUNTRIES
IN EUROPE". THE PORTUGUESE POSITION
IS THUS SIMILAR TO THAT OF ROMANIA, ALTHOUGH PORTUGAL
WOULD BE SATISFIED IF THE ISSUE WERE NOT DEALT WITH AT
ALL IN CSCE, A POSSIBILITY THAT SEEMS HIGHLY UNLIKELY.
SUBCOMMITTEE ON COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES REACHED AGREEMENT
ON A TEXT DEALING WITH AGREEMENT ON DOUBLE TAXATION AND
REPATRIATION OF PROFITS AND INVETMENTS. SUBCOMMITTEE
ON INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION "MENTALLY" REGISTERED A TEXT
ON REPAYMENT OF INVESTMENT IN THE FORM OF PRODUCTS OF
THE PLANT IN WHICH THE INVESTMENT WAS MADE. SCIENCE/
TECHNOOGY SUBCOMMITTEE CONTINUED FRUITLESS DISCUSSION
OF ROMANIAN CONCEPT OF ACCESS TO SCIENTIFIC AND
TECHNOLOGICAL PROGRESS. IN SUBCOMMITTEE ON OTHER
ECONOMIC AREAS, SOVIETS DROPPED TOURLESSOME DEMAND THAT
PARAGRAPH ON REUNIFICATION OF MIGRANT FAMILIES SHOULD
SHOW CONNECTION WITH BASKET III REUNIFICATION TEXT.

5. HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION -- HUMAN CONTACTS SUB-
COMMITTEE AGAIN CONCENTRATED ON THE INTRODUCTORY TEXT.
NEGOTIATIONS ONLY ESTABLISHED MORE DEFINITELY AND
PRECISELY THAT THE FRENCH AND RUSSIAN LANGUAGE TEXTS,
BOTH "ORIGINAL" VERSIONS, DIFFER, AND THAT THE SOVIETS,
WHO MAINTAIN THAT THE TWO ARE IDENTICAL, ARE UNWILLING
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TO CHANGE THE RESSIAN TEXT. WHILE OTHER EASTERN SOURCES
REPORT THAT THIS INFLEXIBILITY IS A LOCAL SOVDEL TACTIC,
IT HAS NEVERTHELESS STYMIED PROGRESS, SINCE MOST WESTERN
DELEGATIONS INSIST ON LANGUAGE VERSIONS WHICH FULLY
CONFORM. IN THE INFORMATION SUBCOMMITTEE BOTH WORKING
CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS AND AUDIO-VISUAL INFORMATION
WERE TREATED IN FORMAL AND INFORMAL SESSIONS BUT LACK
OF SOVIET FLEXIBILITY AGAIN PREVENTED ANY PROGRESS. IN
SUBCOMMITTEE ON CULTURE, DURING CONTINUING INFORMAL
NEGOTIATIONS, SOVIETS MAINTAINED THEIR OPPOSITION TO ANY
REFERENCE TO ESTABLISHMENT OF FOREIGN LIBRARIES/READING
ROOMS. IN FACE OF SOVIET RIGIDITY ON THIS CONTROVERSIAL
ISSUE, SUBCOMMITTEE TURNIED TO PARALLEL DISCUSSION OF
OUTSTANDING TEXTS DEALING WTH CIRCULATION OF CULTURAL
MATERIALS AND EXTENSION OF CONTACTS AMONG CREATIVE ARTISTS.

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LIMITED PROGRESS WAS ACHIEVED IN CLARIFYING POSITIONS
ON THSE SEPARATE AGENDA ITEMS, BUT NO TEXTS WERE
REGISTERED. IN EDUCATION SUBCOMMITTEE, INFORMAL NEGO-
TIATIONS NARROWED DIFFERENCES OVER INTRODUCTORY TEXT,
BUT PROSPECTS FOR PROMPT REGISTRATION DIMMED WHEN
SOVIETS WITHDREW AN EARLIER CONCESSION. SUBCOMMITTEE
ALSO INITIATED DISCUSSION ON PENULTIMATE AGENDA ITEM
CONCERNING EXCHANGED OF EXPERIENCE IN TEACHING METHODS.

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ACDA-05 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 /096 W
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FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 356
INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 238
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY RABAT
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY TUNIS
USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR
USDOCOSOUTH
USLO SACLANT NORFOLK VA
CINCLANT
USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 GENEVA 0607

6. MEDITERRANEAN -- WORKING GROUP CAME CLOSER TO

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AGREEMENT ON A PHRASE INDICATING PARTICIPATING
STATES WILL BE GUIDED BY THE SPIRIT OF CSCE PRINCIPLE
IN THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE NON-PARTICIPATING MEDI-
TERRANEAN STATES. MALTESE DELEGATION ANNOUNCED THAT
THEIR PAPER ON A MEDITERRANEAN REGIONAL ANTI-POLLUTION
CENTER WAS INTENDED SOLELY FOR THE INFORMATION OF CSCE.

7. FOLLOW-UP-- REGISTRATION OF TWO PREAMBULAR PARA-
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GRAPHS WAS HELD UP AGAIN OVER SOVIET INSISTENCE ON
INSERTION OF A PHRASE REFERRING TO THE HOLDING OF A NEW
CONFERENCE OR CONFERENCES IN THE FUTURE. NATO GROUP
STRONGLY OPPOSED THIS ADDITION, ON GROUNDS THAT IT WOULD
PREJUDGE DECISIONS ON THE NATURE OF FOLLOW-UP. NATO
CAUCUS BEGAN CONSULTATIONS ON ALLIED APPROACH TO
FOLLOW-UP ISSUE.

8. COMMENT: SOVIET INFLEXIBILITY ONCE AGAIN WAS THE
KEY FEATURE OF THIS WEEK'S ACTIVITY, AS THE SOVIET DELE-
GATION PURSUED ITS TACTIC OF PUSHING FOR SPEEDY PROGRESS
BUT OFFERED NO CONCESSIONS OF THEIR OWN TO MAKE IT
POSSIBLE. WITH ATTENTION FOCUSED IN BASKET III ON THE
INTRODUCTORY TEXT FOR HUMAN CONTACTS, THE SOVIETS NOT
ONLY REFUSED ANY AMENDMENTS,BUT STUBBORNLY MAINTAINED
THAT THE FRENCH AND RUSSIAN LANGUAGE VERSIONS, WHICH
ARE MANIFESTLY DIFFERENT, ARE EXACTLY THE SAME. SINCE
FRENCH AND DANISH DELEGATIONS, WHO NEGOTIATED THIS TEXT
WITH THE SOVIETS, HAVE ACCEPTED THE DIFFERNCE IN
LANGUAGE VERSIONS, THE SOVIETS ARE APPARENTLY CONVINCED
THAT THE OTHER WESTERN AND NEUTRAL DELS WILL EVENTUALLY
SWALLOW IT TOO. THE CONSCIOUS ACCEPTANCE OF TWO
DIFFERENT LANGUAGE VERSIONS OF A KEY TEXT WOULD, HOW-
EVER, HAVE BROAD IMPLICATIONS AS A PRECEDENT THROUGHOUT
THE CONFERENCE, AND THERE IS CONSIDERABLE RESISTANCE TO
IT.

9. MEANWHILE, FOLLOWING SOVIET STATEMENTS THAT THEY
WOULD MAKE NO FURTHER CONCESSIONS ON MILITARY ASPECTS
OF SECURITY, PRESSURE WAS ALSO BUILDING FOR SOME CON-
CRETE PROGRESS IN NEGOTIATIONS ON CBMS, WHICH HAVE
STAGNATED SINCE LAST SPRNG. THE EC-NONE AGREED INTER-
NALLY THAT THE OUTLINE OF A REASONABLE AGREEMENT ON CBMS
SHOULD BE CLEAR PRIOR TO THE END OF THE "FIRST READING"
OF THE PRINCIPLES DECLARATION. THIS WAS A POTENTIALLY
SIGNIFICANT DECISION, SINCE IT IMPLIES A LINKAGE BETWEEN
PROGRESS ON THE PRINCIPLES, WHICH ARE OF INTEREST TO
THE SOVIETS, AND PROGRESS ON CBMS. THE YUGOSLAV WARNING
THAT STAGE III MIGHT BE DELAYED BEYOND THE SUMMER IF
THERE IS NO PROGRESS SOON ON CMBS ALSO CARRIED IMPORTANT

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IMPLICATIONS. THE YUGOSLAVS, WHO SPEAK FOR THE NEUTRALS
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AND FEEL STRONGLY ABOUT THE NEED FOR MEANINGFUL CBMS, ARE
ONE OF THE ONLY GOVERNMENTS IN CSCE WHO COULD ALSO DELAY
THE CONVENING OF THE CONFERENCE OF EUROPEAN COMMUNIST
PARTIES, WHICH SHOULD BE HELD IN THE FIRST SIX MONTHS
OF 1975. END COMMENT.DALE

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